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Fink-Hafner, Danica

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Danica Fink-Hafner

Political Science – Slovenia

Discussant: Zlatko Šabič

Introductory remarks

This text aims to present a brief historical overview of political science in Slovenia, the characteristics of its contents and its methodological and institutional developments. In brief, we note the following three processes: 1. development from knowledge relevant to political science toward a modern and internationally more comparable political science; 2. from knowledge and science within supranational states to political science within an independent state seeking new international integration; and 3. from state-centered and later self-management orientations toward the modern pattern of thematic diversification of the political science field and its research methods and techniques. The overview relies on previously published reviews of political science developments in Slovenia and the former Yugoslavia, data gathered at the Faculty of Social Sciences (Fakulteta za družbene vede) in Ljubljana, information drawn from the Internet (COBISS – researchers' online bibliographies, Slovenian political science institutions' web pages), and comments made by experts from several political science sub-fields.¹

1. Analysis of the pre-1989 situation

Pre-World War II traditions and the foundations of modern political science

Slovenian pre-World War II traditions relevant to political science were developed within broader supranational states (Austria, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, pre-World War II Yugoslavia, socialist Yugoslavia). Only since the early 1990s has political science started to develop as a science in an independent Slovenian state. There was little Slovenian political science tradition before the 1960s. Several texts by historians and literati from the second half of the 17th to the end of the 19th century (including Anton Tomaž Linhart, Fran Maselj Podlimbarski, and Janez Vajkard Valvasor) described constitutional life, administrative practices, other political phenomena, and political thought in the area where Slovenian ethnicity and later the Slovenian nation developed. Some of the first modern analyses of political institutions and phenomena carried out on Slovenian territory were written by lawyers and sociologists. Pitamic (1927) wrote on the state, Ogris (1926) on political parties, and Goričar (1959) on the history of political theories.

Political science foundations after World War II

Some political science traditions developed from the end of the 1930s to 1948 as a strong reflection of Soviet literature. After the political split between Tito and Stalin in 1948, political elites sought to create a distinctive political science in Yugoslavia. The ruling party of the socialist regime took the initiative to establish political science in Yugoslavia (and in Slovenia as part of Yugoslavia) at the end of the 1950s. The 1958 League of Communists of Yugoslavia program included a special statement on the development of political science. Namely, "the developed social and political sciences" were considered "a strong factor in progressive social development

¹ I am grateful to my colleagues Zlatko Šabič, Drago Zajc, Igor Lukšič, Vlasta Jalušič, and Ljubica Jelušič for their comments on earlier drafts of the text. The text is structured according to guidelines outlined by the editors to allow international comparisons; unfortunately, this does not permit the author to fully respect all of the referees' comments and suggestions.

and the development of human existence". There were two aspects of the initially *top-down* development of the political science infrastructure at the start of the 1960s. On the one hand, this assisted the early start of political science's development compared with many other socialist countries. On the other hand, it created a problem by developing political science as a relatively autonomous field of scientific teaching and research activities. The first staff to teach political science consisted mainly of lawyers who had become interested in political science after graduating or having practiced as judges.

After the split with Stalin, political thought became extremely critical of Stalinist "dogmatism" and "stereotypes of socialism and the socialist state" (Djordjević in Political Science in Yugoslavia: 6). The ideological orientation of political theory and the subject of political science interest changed. This transformation can be illustrated as a shift away from the dominant role of the state toward the "decline of the state" and the construction of "socialist society". At the core lay an idea of democracy that was considered not merely an intermediary mechanism but simultaneously a social structure and political form of management of society in which relations were defined by social ownership and by the direct role of workers and other people in politics. In socialist times, many of political science's subjects of inquiry and much of its terminology remained undefined.

The emerging academic political science community underwent hard times in establishing the new science in Slovenia (as in other former Yugoslav republics). On the one hand, there was the typical sheer denial of any reason for political science to exist and, on the other hand, the political elite's expectations were high that the newly developing political science would support political programmatic currents. Criticism extended from the notion that a division into specific social sciences is quite unacceptable ("there is only one science – the science of history") to the opinion that "everybody can talk politics – therefore everybody is a political scientist" (Bibič, 1982:5, 13). Especially in the nascent stage (the *College for Political Science* – Visoka šola za politične vede – was established in Ljubljana in 1961) and during the period of stronger authoritarian pressure (in the 1970s, called the "leaden years"), the political voices seeking to deny a role to political science gathered strength. The Slovenian political scientist Adolf Bibič fought vigorously in public to maintain it as an academic discipline in Yugoslavia. In the struggle for an autonomous space, the emerging political science community used the term "politology" (instead of "political science") to stress the distinction between political practice and political science as academic education about and scientific research on political phenomena.

Despite political pressure to rein in political science, it started developing into new sub-fields. In cooperation with the more empirically oriented sociology, it created an institution (the College of Political Science, Sociology and Journalism) that was able to become a member of the University of Ljubljana in 1970. The process of establishing new fields of teaching and research was very dynamic. In 1963, the College began to offer the study of journalism and in 1966 the study of sociology, while in 1975-76 a special study of *Splošna ljudska obramba* (General People's Defense) and, a year later (1977), an interdisciplinary (sociological and politological) course on "self-management and the basics of Marxism" were introduced. The key aim of this last course was to educate teachers of social science subjects at institutions of higher education to teach a special subject "*samoupravljanje*" ("self-management"), which was introduced in the 1970s (already mentioned); it was later abandoned. Most students in this program earned the title "professor of sociology" after their BA degree. In the reform of university studies in the 1980s, a more autonomous position for International Relations was also created.

Despite this diversification, the development of political science in Slovenia was marked by an *institutional monopoly*. Namely, it was closely linked with just one education and research institution – the Faculty of Social Sciences (and its predecessors) in Ljubljana. It is difficult to identify all of the important factors leading to this concentration of political science institutions in the national capital without a thorough investigation. Perhaps one factor is the initial political will to have an important (initially "political") school in the very center of political power. During the

1970s and 1980s, when political science was quite often confused with politics, the number of regular students was so small that even the already established Department of Political Science in Ljubljana had problems maintaining the entire program developed in the framework of the Faculty of Sociology, Political Science, and Journalism. Judged by the number of graduates, the political science field shifted from an important course of study (about 50 graduates a year from 1963 to 1968) to a minor study at the Faculty (some 20 graduates annually at the beginning of the 1980s). Staff numbers also fell as members took on political roles or positions at other institutions (including other faculties within the University of Ljubljana and the University of Maribor). During the last decade, there have been several new initiatives for institutional development, but so far they have had little impact on institutional monopoly.

Research and teaching subjects pressured by political expectations

In socialist times, Slovenia was one of the three Yugoslav centers of academic political science (Ljubljana, Zagreb, Belgrade), with Belgrade having the most influence as the center of the federal political science community in Yugoslavia and holding the presidency of the Union of Political Science Associations of Yugoslavia for a long time. In Slovenia and the other northwestern republics of former Yugoslavia, it is generally believed that Yugoslav and Slovenian political science in socialist times was much more “Western” and open to currents in the modern world than in other socialist countries and that this helped political science in Slovenia become aware of the need to develop into an autonomous field, a profession distinct from other social sciences, and a science distinct from pragmatic politics.

Still, the development of political science was closely linked to the development of the system of self-management. The goal was to “liberate” Yugoslav political science from the “Eastern sin” (Djordjević, 1979: 14). Early discussions focused on issues like the essence of politics, the multi-dimensionality of self-management, relations between the social structure and political institutionalization, the difference between self-management’s direct democracy and traditional representative and parliamentary democracy, relations between political government and self-management spheres, relations between civil society and the state, national questions and their resolution in socialism, the study of political institutions (the delegate system), and gradually also comparative political systems and international political relations. The key theoretical and methodological weaknesses already noticed by political scientists at the end of the 1970s were: 1. the descriptive orientation and lack of real theory; 2. the tendency of political science to support the political needs of a certain political course; and 3. the focus on describing political institutions and structures without developing any methodology for critical empirical research on power and “cratology”, as well as a lack of specialization in modern sub-fields of research such as policy-making processes, elections, intermediary organizations, and political behavior (Djordjević, Bibič, Pašić, Rodin, Tomić, Stanovčić in *Political Science in Yugoslavia*). It is thus not surprising that only a few Slovenian political scientists (Vlado Benko, Adolf Bibič, Anton Bebler, Ernest Petrič, Bojko Bučar) were able to publish abroad before the end of the 1980s. In this respect, Ljubljana was comparable to both Zagreb and Belgrade. Of course, many of the fields mentioned could only have been developed in a context permitting political competition.

University teaching used mainly books by Slovenian and other Yugoslav authors written in the Serbian or Croatian languages. Eastern and Western political theories and debates were presented mainly through the interpretations of domestic political scientists. However, “Western” influences also filtered into Slovenian society and political science during socialism in various ways: through the relatively open borders and mass media communications to the north and west, particularly with Italy and Austria; and by exposure to Western literature – especially political science journals and through international professional activities, particularly within the IPSA. The library of the Faculty of Social Sciences (and of its predecessors) was, fortunately, provided with Western social science journals, particularly in the field of political science, even during the economic crisis of the 1980s, when the state lacked the foreign currency needed to provide funding for foreign books.

Since even then university students were familiar with English, foreign literature was accessible, albeit not compulsory reading. Still, the domestic political system, its features, and the Yugoslav role in international relations (especially the non-alignment movement) formed the core focus of studies. Of course, under socialism there was also censorship of non-journal publications in the Faculty's library. Paradoxically, it was more difficult to get publications written by Yugoslav regime critics (e.g. Djilas) from the library than to get Western literature extremely critical of socialism. Slovenian like other Yugoslav political scientists regularly participated in International Political Science Association (IPSA) activities and were able to get in touch with current literature and debates in political science.

Compared with political science studies in many other socialist countries, Slovenian political science was distinctive for involving a combination of competition and collaboration with sociology within the same education and research institution. Political science has profited from this collaboration in at least two ways: 1. sociologists, who were more advanced in the field of empirical research, taught methodology to political science students; and 2. political scientists collaborated with sociologists and researchers in communication in the interdisciplinary longitudinal survey of Slovenian public opinion since 1968. With a time lag, they started their own empirical research (such as research on the delegate system in the 1970s and local political elites' attitudes to political changes at the end of the 1980s).

Still, Slovenian political scientists mostly adhered to the political thought defined by official party ideologists. From the point of view of self-management ideology, they criticized political theories coming from either East or West as not being democratic enough. Western political systems and non-Marxist Western political thought were criticized as being "alienated from citizens" and Eastern systems and thought as being too state-centered and authoritarian. The official ideology of "pluralism of self-management interests", developed at the end of the 1970s (most prominently represented in Edvard Kardelj's "The Development of the Political System of Socialist Self-Management", first published in 1976 and revised in 1977), was to some extent adapted to accommodate oppositional pressures and the liberalization of politics in the Slovenian republic during the 1980s. A little more space was opened for pluralist political thought, albeit still within the moving political limits in Slovenia, which prohibited free party competition for power until the end of the 1980s.

The critical points redefining political science were the new wave of criticism of Stalinism and the *debate on civil society* in the 1980s. While the most prominent political scientists mainly defended the idea of a "socialist civil society", younger opponents coming primarily from political philosophy and sociology (especially Tomaž Mastnak) gradually identified the incompatibility of the expressions "socialist" and "civil society" in modern liberal democratic terms and supported competitive political pluralism. Oppositional political science activities in this sense were not particularly visible in the 1980s. Several younger political scientists did become interested in researching oppositional social movements in the first half of the 1980s, but in general, political scientists were cautious and opened the issues of political pluralism and competition after a certain time lag. Few were active in the discussion of the alternative constitution in Slovenia or took an active role in the newly emerging oppositional political parties. Political scientists tended to be neither oppositional opinion leaders nor vigorous defenders of the old system.

Political scientists participated in public debates in the 1980s and analyzed liberalization and democratization in Slovenia and diverse transition processes within and at the federal level of the Yugoslav state in the light of literature on democratic transitions and following democratic changes in East-Central European socialist countries. This gradually socialized them toward *liberal* political thinking. At the end of the 1980s, discussions also brought the idea of "*Europeanization*" into the political science discourse. So political science was not developing into a "value-free" or "ideologically-free" science.

2. Redefinition of the discipline since 1990: from one periphery to another?

The process of gradual democratic transition in Slovenia was accompanied by the creation of the independent state in 1991. Political science in Slovenia was part of both processes. Gradually it accepted new foundations of political thought closely linked to practical and theoretical criticism of the limits the one-party system puts on human rights and liberal democracy. Former Yugoslav political scientists were involved in political cleavages in debates on reforming the federal state. To an important extent, political science associations in the federal units followed their republics' political attitudes in these debates. So political conflicts were also brought into the Union of Political Science Associations of Yugoslavia. In the period of democratic transition in Slovenia (a multi-party system was legalized solely in this Yugoslav republic in Autumn 1990) and in the creation of an independent Slovenian state (independence was declared in June 1991), political science in Slovenia identified with the liberal conception of democracy and with the new Slovenian state-building. The Slovenian Political Science Association joined the process of federal disintegration. Like several other confederate members, it declared independence and left the Union of Political Science Associations of Yugoslavia in November 1991. The International Political Science Association soon accepted it as an independent member association. In the 1990s, separate professional associations developed in the field of international relations (the Society for International Relations) and in the field of defense studies (the Society for Defense Studies). Political scientists have also been active in the Society for International Law and in the Atlantic Council Society.

Redefining political science in Slovenia in the 1990s was many-sided:

- It initially re-oriented its links from Belgrade as the political science center to more diversified and more internationalized links with political science centers in developed capitalist countries as well as in post-socialist countries. In 1992, the Faculty of Social Sciences became the first academic institution in any socialist country to become a member of the European Consortium for Political Science (ECPR). Slovenian political scientists participate in IPSA, the Trans-European Policy Studies Association, the European Research Group on the Military and Society, the Central and East European International Association, and many other relevant international professional associations, including the European Community Studies Association. They also participated in establishing the Central European Political Science Association. Over the last decade, some cooperation has also developed between post-socialist academic political science communities (projects coordinated by Budapest, Prague, and Ljubljana; cooperation among Central European political science associations). There have also been some attempts to revitalize academic contacts with some former Yugoslav republics, particularly Croatia (bilateral cooperation on the basis of agreements between the two countries), some individual political scientists from Serbia, Macedonia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina (recently a formal basis for bilateral cooperation has been established), but these contacts are still not very well developed.
- The need to build a new Slovenian state and to find a place in the international community led to a substantial redefinition of the subject of teaching and inquiry. In the process of Slovenia's integrating with the EU, more EU issues have been included in existing curricula (EU issues and dimensions included in existing subjects, new subjects included in undergraduate and graduate studies) while some new graduate programs have been developed at the Faculty of Social Sciences (such as Master's programs in Policy Analysis – European Aspects, Public Administration, American Studies, and World Studies, as well as European Studies Master's program, which is in the making with the support of Tempus. Several research projects have been financed with European funds (such as Phare ACE, COST, 5th Framework Programme). National research policy has also encouraged projects on EC/EU issues.
- Building up the new state called for new professions (at the intersection of political science, policy analysis, and public administration) as well as more cadres from specific already existing study programs, previously mostly reserved for education institutions in Belgrade

(international relations, defense studies). At the end of the 1980s, debate on curriculum reform ensued with the goal of developing political science to be more useful in managing the increasingly modern society. The reform introduced at the beginning of the 1990s included further specialization in policy analysis and public administration, international relations, and defense studies. Adaptation to new circumstances also involved enrolling more and more students during the 1990s, partly to provide the missing cadres for the new state apparatus, while also temporarily solving the problem of unemployment and the relatively low share of the population with a university education. Unfortunately, these “mass” studies have not been accompanied by a proportionate growth of the teaching staff; new problems of educational quality are arising.

- Under the pressure of official policy on research and stricter rules for habilitation at the University of Ljubljana, requirements for teachers and researchers have become stricter, especially with regard to the need to publish and teach abroad in order to be able to earn and maintain one’s teaching and research position. The scope and quality of research publications have been growing.
- Old textbooks were largely replaced by new books published by Slovenian authors, including fresh information on theories, concepts, and research findings from developed political science, as well as foreign textbooks (mainly in English). Joint publications by Slovenian and established Western scholars started to appear in English.
- The generational change (retirements, deaths) and shifts of older-generation political scientists into politics (diplomacy) had a significant impact on teaching and research staff. At the beginning of the 1990s, “pure” political scientists (graduates in political science who had also completed their Master’s and PhDs in political science) started to join the teaching staff. At the moment, they are the leading generation in teaching and research. Fortunately, this generation also had many more opportunities to develop their political science knowledge abroad (in the USA and Western European countries, including Scandinavia). The generation that was taught political science after the end of the socialist system is now at the stage of writing their Master’s and PhD theses and is expected to gradually join the existing political science academic teaching and research community. Slovenia had no significant dissident political scientists who could be rehabilitated or repatriated, but there is a trend for young political scientists to continue their studies abroad and possibly find careers there.
- Growing international opportunities have been offered, especially to younger scholars and students, who are now more often exposed to teaching and research abroad (mainly using opportunities within the European Consortium for Political Science Research, various EC/EU and European University grants, or grants from the USA, Scandinavian countries, and Japan).

Institutions in the fields of teaching and research

The development of the new curricula brought about some organizational changes within the Faculty of Social Sciences and within the Department of Political Science, which remains the key political science institution in Slovenia. Currently, the Department includes the following chairs: 1. political theory and analysis; 2. policy analysis and public administration; 3. international relations; and 4. defense studies. In their fields, these chairs organize undergraduate studies, graduate studies (international relations, defense studies, policy analysis – European aspects, public administration, American studies, World studies, and – in the making – European studies), and post-graduate courses, as well as two specializations (in international relations and defense studies). The strongest identification with political science can be found within the first two chairs, which in fact emerged from the previous chair for the socio-political field of political science studies. The two other chairs have quite distinct internal identities, including separate professional associations and external publics with which to cooperate. The Faculty of Social Sciences also has three research centers (mainly involving staff from the aforementioned chairs, since research is usually only a part-time job) for political research, international relations, and defense studies.

The problems encountered in establishing new departments, faculties, and universities in Slovenia since the early 1990s (when “mass” studies started to develop) have largely been caused by a lack of teachers with proper habilitation, the prevalence of centralization tendencies in many policy fields in Slovenia, and the lack of resources available for new investments in university education. Still, there are some institutions (besides the Faculty of Social Sciences in Ljubljana) doing research and teaching relevant to political science. These include: the Faculty of Arts – Filozofska fakulteta (involving several individual researchers in the field of nationalism, gender and politics, and political history), the Institutum Studiorum Humanitatis – Graduate School of Humanities (Fakulteta za podiplomski humanistični študij), and the *Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts* (Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti – SAZU) – both mainly developing political philosophy. The Institute for Ethnic Studies (Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja) does not publicly identify itself with political science and is composed of researchers from other social science fields or humanities (anthropology, ethnology, history, information science, linguistics, law, psychology, socio-linguistics, and sociology), but occasionally also publishes on the constitutional and political regulation of ethnic relations and conflicts. The Peace Institute (Mirovni inštitut), **founded in 1991** by a group of independent intellectuals, has centers for contemporary political studies, gender and politics, cultural policy, the study of violence and conflict resolution, civil society, media policy, and East-East cooperation.

The *Diplomatic Academy* (Diplomska akademija) can hardly be understood as an institution competing with university programs either in terms of its educational goals or in the structure of its students or staff. Namely, the Diplomatic Academy is an education program organized within the framework of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Part of the DA program is carried out in cooperation with the Faculty of Social Sciences (specialization in international relations).

To some extent, research activities in the field of *sociology* overlap political sociology/political science, albeit they are predominantly perceived as activities by sociologists within sociological organizational units (e.g. public opinion surveys conducted by the Center for Public Opinion and Communications (Center za raziskovanje javnega mnenja in množičnih komunikacij) at the Faculty of Social Sciences, Institute of Social Sciences in Ljubljana as well as research on issues like political elites, youth, and political modernization by sociologists and social psychologists).

While in the international arena “*public administration*” is often classified within political science, in Slovenia administrative studies are traditionally close to law and are not defined as part of political science. The School of Public Administration (Visoka uprva šola) in Ljubljana does not present itself publicly (including on the Internet) as a political science institution in the field of teaching, because its orientation is toward providing knowledge and skills in administrative, legal, and economic fields, as well as in organizational and financial areas to the students, civil servants, and members of local boards who attend its seminars. It develops consulting projects for public administration and the business sector, rather than academic research. Its staff members generally do not fulfill the Ministry of Education, Science, and Sport’s administrative requirements for heads of research projects.

In the last few years, some inter-institutional and interdisciplinary developments have emerged. The School of Public Administration, a member of the University of Ljubljana, started to develop a new graduate program called Management in Public Administration. Since the school does not fulfill the academic and administrative requirements to organize such studies and since every new program has to be approved by the University, the initiative has developed into an interdisciplinary and inter-institutional graduate program involving the Faculty of Law (Pravna fakulteta), the Faculty of Economics (Ekonomska fakulteta), and the Faculty of Social Sciences – mainly the Department of Politics (all members of the University of Ljubljana). The program has earned the status of a university program (organized on the university level, not on the level of individual faculties). It is supposed to be funded by private and public sources.

Recently, some new initiatives have emerged to develop new social science programs (initiatives to establish a new university on the Slovenian coast as well as initiatives to start a graduate program on “management in public administration” and “state studies”), although they are not defined as political science programs. They are based on law, administration, communications, economics, or other social sciences.

3. Core theoretical and methodological orientations

Research has developed significantly since the end of the 1980s. The new features are: 1. the growing modernization of research methods and research subjects – qualitative methods have been accompanied by quantitative ones, and more profound methods of statistical analysis have started to be employed; 2. the opening of the research community to international assessment and cooperation; 3. the development of applied research; and 4. action research studies and projects (the latter being mainly outside of the university).

Recent key thematic areas covered in published works include the following (unfortunately there is not enough space to fully list the publications – complete information on researchers’ bibliographies is available online at the cited reference – Izum-Cobiss):

1. The former Yugoslavia and its disintegration:
 - analysis of the former Yugoslav system of self-management (Ferfila in cooperation with Phillips) and Yugoslav federalism (Bebler);
 - nationalism, national identity, racism, extremist politics (Rizman, Kuzmanić, also the social psychologist Mirjana Ule and researchers at the Institute for Ethnic Studies);
 - war in the former Yugoslavia, the disintegration of the federal state, refugees (Bebler, Grizold, Jalušič, Bučar, Fink-Hafner, Malešič, and Kuzmanić in cooperation with Truger, Fink-Hafner in cooperation with Robbins, Jelušič), and propaganda and discourses on war (Malešič, researchers at the Institutum Studiorum Humanitatis);
 - stabilization in the Balkans after the war (Brezovšek, Bučar, Jelušič, Prebilič);
2. Democratic transition:
 - Slovenian democratic transition and the formation of the state (Fink-Hafner, Žagar, Bibič, Fink-Hafner in cooperation with Robbins, Kuzmanić, Prunk, Jalušič, Zajc, Lukšič, Bučar, Bebler, Jelušič, also sociologists – Frane Adam, Pavel Gantar, Niko Toš);
3. Civil society – state relations:
 - research on civil society, political participation, and political culture (Južnič, Jalušič, Bibič, Kuzmanić, Igor and Andrej Lukšič, Fink-Hafner, Brezovšek, Kurnik, also the sociologists Tomaž Mastnak and Pavel Gantar);
 - interest groups, NGOs, social movements, social capital, lobbying, and policy networks (Bibič, Bibič in cooperation with Graziano, Fink-Hafner, Lukšič Igor and Andrej, Kropivnik, Jalušič, also the sociologists Tomaž Mastnak, Frane Adam, Zinka Kolarič);
4. Political institutions and political behavior:
 - the development of political parties, party identification, party cleavages (Fink-Hafner, Krašovec, Kropivnik, also the sociologists Niko Toš, Urban Vehovar);
 - the Slovenian political system (Lukšič Igor, Brezovšek);
 - research on parliament (Zajc – also in cooperation with Longley, Kropivnik) and interest group influence on parliamentary decision-making (Fink-Hafner);
 - elections (Kropivnik, Zajc, Lukšič Igor, also the sociologists Frane Adam, Niko Toš, Slavko Gaber and the lawyer Franc Grad);
 - public administration in Slovenia and from a comparative perspective (Brezovšek, Haček, Bučar);
 - political values and political behavior of the adult population and especially youth (mainly the sociologists Niko Toš, Ivan Bernik, Samo Uhan, Brina Malnar and the social psychologists Mirjana Ule and Vlado Miheljak);

- gender and politics (Jalušič, Fink-Hafner, Krašovec and the sociologists Milica Antić, Maca Jogan, and Silva Mežnarić and the social psychologist Mirjana Ule, researchers at the Institutum Studiorum Humanitatis);
- political elites have remained in the sociological domain (Frane Adam, Anton Kramberger) with the exception of research on local elites' attitudes at the end of the 1980s (Kranjc and Fink-Hafner) and research on Slovenian MPs (Zajc);
- 5. Defense and security:
 - defense restructuring, civil-military relations, and Slovenian national security policy (Bebler, Grizold, Kotnik, Jelušič in cooperation with Selby as well as in cooperation with Manigart, the Peace Institute researchers);
 - security issues from the European and global perspectives, NATO, OSCE (Bebler, Jelušič, Grizold, Prebilič, Malešič);
- 6. International relations and comparative research:
 - theories in the field of international relations (Benko, Brglez);
 - comparing Slovenia with selected Western countries (Bučar in cooperation with Kuhnle, Fink-Hafner in cooperation with Cox, Ferfila in cooperation with Philips);
 - comparing Slovenia with selected post-socialist countries (Fink-Hafner and Haček);
 - research on contemporary political systems and on international and European institutions (Bebler in cooperation with Seroka, Šabič);
 - small states (Svetličič, Šabič in cooperation with Bukowski);
 - sub-national regions in international affairs (Bučar);
 - minorities (Roter).
- 7. Global and EU integration processes:
 - comparative view of the economy, economic public policies in transitional countries, and globalization (Ferfila, Svetličič in cooperation with Artisien, Rojec, Ferfila in cooperation with LeLoup);
 - EU integration processes from the Slovenian point of view (Fink-Hafner, Brinar, Svetličič, Bučar, Ferfila in cooperation with Phillips, Zajc);
- 8. Political theory:
 - liberalism, pluralism, corporatism, Gramsci's and Foucault's thought, the history of political ideas (Bibič, Rizman, Igor Lukšič, Kurnik, Prunk, Zver);
 - politics, the state, collective identities and democracy in postmodernism, political ecology (Pikalo, Kurnik, Lukšič Andrej, researchers at the Institutum Studiorum Humanitatis);
 - relations between philosophy and politics as a philosophical issue (researchers at the Institutum Studiorum Humanitatis);
- 9. Policy analysis:
 - foundations of policy analysis (Fink-Hafner);
 - the development of evaluation research (Fink-Hafner, Kustec, partly also the researchers at the Peace Institute and the sociologist Srna Mandič);
- 10. Political science:
 - the development of political science in Slovenia (Bibič, Fink-Hafner);
 - comparative research on election studies in post-socialist countries (Fink-Hafner).

4. Funding

The political science developments described here occurred in the still predominantly state-based political science, despite some very unfavorable factors in the environment during the 1990s. Research has been one of the most politically contested ministerial positions. Ministers have frequently been replaced. The problem has been that each new minister started quite a different reform in managing the research sub-system, shifting from entirely financing 1- to 3-year research projects to nearly complete institutional financing. At the same time, long time lags in state

financing due to problems in adopting annual state budgets complicated the organization of serious research work and made it difficult to keep full-time researchers employed. All of these factors were exacerbated by a drop in the share of the state budget available for research (from 1.7% in 1995 to 1.4%), which happened despite Parliament's resolution to increase the proportion of the state budget available for research (Slovenia in Figures, 1999). The result within the university was to *force full-time researchers into teaching* or to look for a job outside the university.

While in the past university studies and research were primarily state funded, in the 1990s several forms of private funding and additional state funding were developed. Private funding included tuition fees at the undergraduate level (for part-time students who do not meet the standard requirements to be enrolled within the state-funded quota) and graduate and postgraduate levels (on this level, Slovenia has only part-time students, since there is no system of graduate and postgraduate scholarships). The tax system does not stimulate private sector donations to education and research. The 1990s brought the practice of "applied research" (co-financed by state institutions other than the Ministry of Science) as well as financing from EU research funds (such as COST, 5th framework). Private foreign funds have been quite limited in Slovenia (the Open Society recently even shut down its office and transferred to the Peace Institute its Media, Civil Society, and East-East Cooperation programs).

5. Public space and academic debates

Debates and publications

Political scientists have been involved in public debates in several ways: a) as individual experts helping prepare bills and parliamentary statutory rules and as expert discussants in the mass media; b) as researchers in privately and publicly funded research organizations; c) as professional collectives (through professional associations' activities); and d) as representatives of individual political parties. The most publicly visible were debates on writing a new constitution (adopted in 1992), the electoral system, xenophobic events, women's participation in politics, the role of the Constitutional Court in politics and policy-making, election outcomes, new (anti-globalist) social movements, terrorist attacks, drug policy, and, more recently, joining NATO.

The Slovenian Political Science Association (established in 1968), the oldest professional association in the field of political science, has been an ever-present factor in the popularization and development of political science in Slovenian society since the end of the 1980s. It has organized regular annual meetings and the publication of proceedings from Slovenian and international scientific conferences organized in Slovenia in cooperation with the IPSA, regional Central European political science associations, and newly established European thematic networks and associations. Public topics the Slovenian Political Science Association has debated at its annual meetings include: political pluralism and the democratization of public life (1989); (con)federalism, majority decision-making, consensus (1990); parliamentarianism: dilemmas and perspectives (1991); the emergence of the Slovenian state (1992); problems in the consolidation of democracy (1993); political parties and partisanship (1994); interest groups and lobbying (1995); conflicts and consensus; pluralism and neo-corporativism in new and old democracies in the region (1996); democracy: governing and public administration (1997); the Europeanization of Slovenian politics (1998); processes and problems of democratic consolidation (1999); horizontal and vertical responsibility (2000); and ten years of Slovenian statehood (2001).

The data available on Slovenian political scientists' publications displays the trends of a growing amount of published material: a) in general; b) in world languages, published in Slovenia; c) in the West; and d) a still relatively weak trend of articles, books, and journals in world languages published in the East. Before the 1980s, only a few Slovenian political scientists had presented papers at international conferences, and they had nearly no publications in Western

journals or books. The 1980s and 1990s saw articles appearing in international journals such as the *Journal of Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, the *International Defense Review*, the *Journal of European Public Policy*, the *European Journal of Political Research*, the *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft*, *Armed Forces and Society*, *Res Publica*, the *Österreichische Militärische Zeitschrift*, the *Journal of Peace Research*, *Nationalities Papers*, *Canadian Slavonic Studies*, *Development and International Cooperation*, *Balkan Forum*, *Cultural Studies*, the *International Journal of World Peace*, and the *International Social Science Review*. The *Journal of International Relations and Development* (edited by Zlatko Šabič) was launched at the Faculty of Social Sciences in Ljubljana to encourage political scientists from post-socialist countries to publish high-quality articles in English.

Given the size of the Slovenian political science community (Slovenia has somewhat less than 2 million inhabitants and about 35 active academic staff with PhDs in political science), there are quite a lot of Slovenian political science journals, academic publication series, and periodicals (Table 1). Here, it should be noted that Slovenian political scientists also publish in other journals in the broader field of social sciences in Slovenia, especially in the *IB journal*, *Družboslovne razprave* (Sociological Debates), and *Javna uprava* (Public Administration).

Databases

The databases of political science empirical research (such as surveys of Slovenian MPs, members of the National Council, and interest groups) have been prepared for presentation in a publicly accessible form with the technical support of the *Social Sciences Data Archive* at the *Faculty of Social Sciences* in Ljubljana (Arhiv družboslovnih podatkov). Recently, a database on political systems and democratic transitions in Central European post-socialist countries and countries in the territory of former Yugoslavia was started at the *Center for Political Research* (Cener za politološke raziskave). Among the valuable empirical sources for political science research (also available in the Social Science Data Archives mentioned above) is the database of the longitudinal research project Slovenian Public Opinion Poll, 1968-2001 (headed by Niko Toš), which is also involved in several international comparative survey projects such as the World Value Survey and International Social Science Project and occasionally focuses on specific political issues.

6. Views on further development

The expansion and academic development of political science disciplines are closely linked to the democratic transition in Slovenia; the strengthening of links and activities within the international political science community; new opportunities for studying and teaching abroad; the growing role of a new generation of staff (educated as political scientists proper); the system of university academic promotion that demands scientific activity abroad (publishing and teaching abroad); the expansion of undergraduate, graduate, and postgraduate studies within the university system; and new infrastructure (a new Faculty of Social Science building opened in the 1999/2000 academic year, offering modern teaching techniques, improved working conditions, a better library, and computer infrastructure for students and staff).

Despite the growing burden on staff in the university environment ("mass studies") and the tendency to develop research in Slovenia, state funding has not been increasing proportionately (funding for research even dropped in the middle of the 1990s). At the same time, it is difficult to obtain any substantial private financing. It can be expected that in the next few years the currently nonexistent "market" of young political scientists with PhDs and MAs will start to emerge. At the moment, no "brain drain trend" is visible. It may be that initiatives for new universities in Slovenia will absorb some of the young qualified political scientists in the future, but it is difficult to predict whether this absorption will actually prevent a "brain drain".

Some features of current and possible future political science development are unfavorable: 1. the government is oriented toward the development of "mass" studies on the university level

without appropriately increasing the proportion of the state budget devoted to and the number of staff involved in teaching; 2. so far, attempts to reform social science studies have failed to introduce a credit system; this delay has not only already caused practical problems in crossing disciplinary boundaries, but also in international student exchanges; 3. Slovenian authors' input to international political science still consists predominantly of presenting "the Slovenian case" without any ambition to contribute original ideas, approaches, or concepts; 4. comparative research has also only started to develop in the last few years; and 5. the majority of researchers are involved in research only part-time (their primary job being teaching), due to research funding cuts in the 1990s and shifts from research to teaching positions. Full-time researchers are the exception and there is little opportunity for young graduates and postgraduates to be hired as research assistants; these facts are becoming obstacles to any further lively development in this field.

In general, political science's development in Slovenia (particularly in the last decade) has been a step from an ideologically overburdened and weak discipline toward one more autonomous and internationally comparable in the fields of teaching and research. However, much remains for both the academic community and the state to do.

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Table 1 Slovenian Political Science Journals, Academic Publication Series and Periodicals

Publishers	Journals	Academic press (books)	Annual publications (books)
Faculty of Social Sciences	Theory and Practice (<i>Teorija in praksa</i>)	<i>Scientific Library</i> (Znanstvena knjižnica)	
		<i>Teorija in praksa</i> (Theory and Practice)	
Faculty of Social Sciences, Center of International Relations	Journal of International Relations and Development (in English)		
Slovenian Political Science Association*			Slovenian Political Science Association annual conference proceedings (various political science issues; some publications in English)
Peace Institute Publications	Intolerance Monitor**	"Politike" series*** and EU monitor	
<i>Student Organization of Ljubljana (Študentska organizacija v Ljubljani)</i>	<i>Časopis za kritiko znanosti</i> (Journal for Criticism of Science)		

Note: The above publications are published in the Slovenian language except where otherwise stated in the Table.

* For more on the Slovenian Political Science Association's publications, see the subsection on its activities.

** The Peace Institute publication is set to qualify as a journal in 2002.

*** Texts in each book in the *Politike* series are published in both Slovenian and English. The Peace Institute also publishes the Media Watch series.